DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 281 682 RC 016 171

TITLE	The Culture of Immigrant Populations and Cultural Policies: Socio-Cultural Innovations in the Member States of the CDCC. Summary of the Meeting (Strasbourg, France, March 4-5, 1986). The CDCC's Project No. 7: "The Education and Cultural Development of Migrants."
INSTITUTION	Council for Cultural Cooperation, Strasbourg (France).
REPORT NO	DECS/EGT(86)34
PUB DATE	87
NOTE	33p.; For other reports on this project, see RC 016 198-199.
PUB TYPE	Information Analyses (070) -- Collected Works - Conference Proceedings (021)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Acculturation; *Cultural Activities; Cultural Awareness; Cultural Pluralism; *Ethnic Groups; Foreign Countries; *Government Role; Immigrants; *Intercultural Programs; *Migrant Education; Migrants; *Migrant Youth; Multicultural Education; Program Descriptions; Public Policy; School Role; Sociocultural Patterns; Young Adults
IDENTIFIERS	*Europe

ABSTRACT

Proceedings of a meeting on immigrant culture are summarized in this report, which aims to outline the main questions asked and answered at this final activity of a 5-year project carried out by the Council for Cultural Cooperation. The introduction discusses the goals of the meeting which were to define the culture of migrants, especially of young people of immigrant origin, and to call on institutions to explain their cultural policies and programs for the benefit of migrants and ethnic minorities. A summary of Antonio Perotti's keynote speech lists new trends in European migration and notes problems such as youth unemployment, antisocial behavior, and racist attitudes towards young people. Part I of the report deals with ways in which migrants give expression to and develop their culture. Strategies for cross cultural communication are cited, including a German coffee house-meeting house scheme for women of foreign extraction, the use of drama, and literary and music competitions to encourage cultural awareness. Part II examines recent political and institutional responses to the challenge of the cultural development of migrants. Public policies in different European countries are summarized. Appendices contain the meeting agenda, a directory of participants, and a directory of cultural programs mentioned in the report. (JHZ)

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"The education and cultural development of migrants"

The culture of immigrant populations and cultural policies: socio-cultural innovations in the member states of the CDCC

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Strasbourg 1987

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DECS/EGT (86) 34
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"The education and cultural development of migrants"

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Strasbourg 1987

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Foreword

This report sums up the statements and discussions at a meeting on "The culture of immigrant populations and cultural policies: socio-cultural innovations in the member states of the CDCC" held in Strasbourg on 4 and 5 March 1986 in connection with the project on "The education and cultural development of migrants" (Project No 7) of the Council for Cultural Co-operation of the Council of Europe.

The meeting was attended by experts and executives with administrative responsibility for cultural measures taken by the government for the benefit of migrants and ethnic minorities, as well as by people with practical experience "in the field", ie people involved in cultural initiatives which brought them into direct contact with the population concerned. The meeting was the last in a series of activities carried out during the five years covered by Project No 7, which included case studies, reports on visits, general analyses, workshops and seminars. These activities served to evaluate experiments and explore various aspects of the educational and cultural development of migrants (1).

The meeting on "The culture of migrants and cultural policies" had two objectives:

- to define the culture of migrants, especially of young people of immigrant origin, more clearly
  - . in relation to the culture(s) of their country of origin,
  - . in relation to the culture(s) of their country of residence,
- to call on institutions to give an account of the cultural policies they pursue for the benefit of migrants and ethnic minorities and to explain how they anticipate, encourage or follow the new forms of cultural expression of these sections of the population (2).

Several comments are called for in connection with the following summary of the contributions to the meeting.

Not all the member states were represented at the meeting. Hence, the summary of the various practical initiatives taken and of the participants' conclusions, on the one hand, and of the information about cultural policies aimed at migrants, on the other, is incomplete.

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(1) These activities have given rise to a series of publications; see the annotated bibliography (doc. DECS/EGT (84) 46).

(2) Antonio PEROTTI, meeting on "The culture of immigrant populations and cultural policies" - Introductory note (working paper), Paris, 28 October 1985.

Similarly, the information appended to the report on various cultural schemes, the bodies concerned and government policies is by no means complete, but has been provided in response to a growing interest in the practical action and experiments being carried out for the benefit of migrants in European countries.

The report does not constitute minutes of the meeting on "The culture of immigrant populations and cultural policies". It rather attempts, on the basis of the statements made during the discussion and the various written contributions supplied by the participants, to outline the answers provided to the main questions discussed.

Presentation of the theme and the objectives of the meeting

by

Mr Antonio PEROTTI

The starting point for the meeting was the observation that there are a number of new trends in migration within and towards Europe:

- The new demographic data concerning the new generations of immigrant origin have brought home the educational and cultural problems, as opposed to the economic problems which previously took precedence;

- There is growing debate about the multi-ethnic and multicultural society, and the necessity of an intercultural approach now that immigrant populations have become stable. The debate covers the following items: national identity, integration and assimilation policies, European identity in the context of economic, social, legal, political and cultural unification in Europe;

- Ethnic minorities are emerging as a result of decolonisation in a number of European countries, and there is growing recognition of the rights of linguistic and cultural minorities;

- New approaches to education were taken after the 1975 Conference of Ministers of Education in Stockholm on the basis of two principles: (1) the socio-cultural integration of children in the host society and the maintenance of their cultural identity, and (2) a change in teaching approach: the teaching of the language and culture of the country of origin, instead of being geared to possible reintegration in the country of origin, is seen as a factor contributing to the psychological stability of migrants and as a cultural contribution to their new environment. This reflects a transition from an intercultural teaching approach to interculturalism itself, and from language tuition to the transmission of cultures;

- (1977 EEC Directive). Whereas they used merely to be involved in the administration of language and culture classes at school, the countries of origin are now displaying a broader interest in extra-curricular activities and cultural activities for their nationals abroad, especially for young people;

- There are changes in the content of bilateral agreements, which are tending to transcend social matters and include cultural matters, and a new approach to the North/South co-operation policy;

- A large number of cultural activities are springing up among young people (both boys and girls); they often emerge in the context of deviant or violent behaviour.

- There is growing intolerance and xenophobia;

- Several European countries are introducing policies whereby migrants are given incentives to return.

- Youth unemployment is rising.

Faced with this situation, European governments appear to be introducing new cultural policies.

Their cultural intervention strategies are not just being adopted in response to express requests from those concerned (in particular, associations); they are often part of a deliberate scheme which, although prompted by practical considerations, is designed to provide an institutional answer to certain challenges related to such social phenomena as:

- youth unemployment;
- deviant behaviour (drugs, insecurity);
- the deterioration of social relations in big cities, which lack social amenities and educational facilities;
- intolerant and racist attitudes towards young people;
- the fact that society no longer considers immigration justified as it did during the economic growth years.

The cultural schemes and activities monitored and studied in the context of Project No. 7 tend to be based on strategies of involving a great variety of parties: institutions, people in positions of responsibility in the community, the people who devise the schemes and those who finance them.

That being the case, the first objective of our meeting is to take stock of cultural schemes of this kind in Europe, and see whether similar approaches can be identified in the various countries concerned.

Alongside the steps taken by institutions, there are the new cultural activities of young people of immigrant origin. We should consider several questions in connection with these activities and try and answer them during our discussion. The second objective of our meeting is therefore to answer the following questions:

1. Towards which areas do young people prefer to direct their creative talents: the media (information/communication), music, art, fashion, the socio-economic sector, education ...?

2. How can these activities and their significance in relation to the cultural challenges they present be described?

3. To what extent are these cultural activities a challenge to society in the host country and in the country of origin (administrative authorities and the community) and to what extent are the cultures of the countries of origin and the receiving countries appropriated, ignored or rejected?

4. To what extent are the steps taken by institutions (in both the countries of origin and the receiving countries) in keeping with the new cultural activities of young people?

Meeting report

I. Ways in which migrants give expression to, and develop, "their" culture

An attempt to define the "culture" or "cultures" of migrants (1) in Western European countries raises a number of questions:

- To what extent, and how, is a set of standards and practices which can be called a "culture" forged among migrant communities? What factors affect the development of a "cultural identity" in migrants?

- Under what conditions and in what circumstances do migrants' cultural aspirations and activities now develop?

- In what ways is their need to give expression to, and develop, their culture found in migrant communities? In what ways and by what means does immigrant culture assert itself?

1. Migration and the development of a cultural identity

Migrant populations in European countries differ greatly according to their particular migration history (emigration/immigration/whether or not there is a prospect of returning to their country of origin), but also according to the policies of the countries of origin and the receiving countries towards them. Given that they may or may not have the nationality of their country of residence, that they may have been settled there for a long time or not for very long, that they may or may not have a real prospect of returning to their country of origin, and that they are subjected to varying degrees of discrimination on grounds of race, religion, and so on, the situation of migrants, and particularly of young migrants, with which the meeting on "The culture of immigrant populations and cultural policies" was specifically concerned, varies greatly, making it impossible to form a hasty picture of the "culture" of immigrant populations.

If we accept the fact that people's reference framework is shaped largely by their "socialisation" in a specific socio-cultural environment (with its standards and values, its conceptions of human existence and the practices of everyday life), we must accept the fact that the "culture" which migrants consider to be "theirs" necessarily varies according to their particular situation and background.

Furthermore, it is not just migrants who have difficulty in defining their "cultural identity" in present-day Western societies, with their widespread decline in established standards and values. This problem is faced by all members of society.

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(1) Whenever the term "migrants" is used, it includes ethnic communities of immigrant origin (especially in Britain).

As stated in a German participant's contribution to the meeting:

"It is not possible to identify the culture of populations of foreign extraction in the Federal Republic of Germany, any more than it is possible to identify the "German" culture. Basically, everyone socialises and undergoes cultural conditioning in different overlapping cultural systems throughout the various stages of life (1)".

From her experience of directing a Germano-Turkish theatre troupe, this participant had even come to observe that the greatest tension arose among Turkish actors whose respective socio-cultural standards stemmed, to a greater or lesser extent, from the German socio-cultural system (2) due to the fact that their establishment in the Federal Republic of Germany had been more or less recent.

In certain circumstances, however, migrants seem able to develop a cultural identity (a reference framework for their opinions and behaviour) without encountering any major practical or psychological obstacles. They identify largely with the culture of their country of origin (or that of their parents), or forge a reference framework based on the various cultural systems surrounding them.

The Portuguese and Spanish emigrant communities in various countries of the world were quoted as examples in this connection. In the Latin American countries and the United States, these communities continue to identify strongly with the culture of their countries of origin. In Europe, however, these communities, in particular the young people of immigrant origin, appear to have difficulty in identifying fully with the culture of the country of origin (of their parents). In any event, their position in relation to the cultural system of the host country seems more ambiguous.

This could be accounted for by the fact that the social status of the immigrant communities is not the same in the two categories of receiving countries, and the higher the migrants' position in the social hierarchy of the receiving country, the more easily they develop (and assert) their "cultural identity".

In Europe most immigrant populations, including those of Spanish and Portuguese origin, settled in the receiving countries when those countries were calling for cheap and, in most cases, unskilled labour. The obstacles encountered by these communities in their efforts to give expression to, and develop, their culture and gain acceptance for it are all the more serious because the indigenous population see the members of these communities as belonging not only to a "foreign culture" but also to a section of society and a culture which have little status in the prevailing socio-cultural system.

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(1) M. Herdieckerhoff-Jencke, on the subject "Minderheiten und Kultur". Text prepared for the meeting on "The culture of immigrant populations and cultural policies", Council of Europe, Strasbourg, 4 and 5 March 1986.

(2) M. Herdieckerhoff-Jencke: "Theater spielen als Medium internationaler Verständigung". Text prepared for the meeting "The culture of immigrant populations and cultural policies", Council of Europe, Strasbourg, 4 and 5 March 1986.

A policy for promoting migrants' culture therefore needs to be based on a more general policy of promoting and increasing the standing of the forms of cultural expression of the disadvantaged sections of society.

There seems all the more need for an increased commitment on the part of European receiving countries to promoting migrants' culture and social status as migrants are now tending to stay longer in the receiving countries and the number of young people of immigrant origin who were born or brought up in those countries is rising, with the result that there is growing practical and psychological pressure on these communities to become socially and culturally integrated in the receiving country.

Yet the present policies of both the receiving countries and the countries of origin towards immigrant communities are ambivalent in this respect. Attempts to integrate migrants in the host society are taking place at a time when countries of origin are endeavouring to ensure that communities of their nationals abroad maintain close ties with the culture of their country of origin and when various receiving countries have introduced measures to encourage migrants to return to their countries of origin.

Is the cultural integration and development of migrants in the host society possible in these circumstances?

Two points were made in this connection.

The authorities in certain "traditional" emigration countries tend to consider that the cultural and, indeed, general development of migrants (and their children) presupposes their familiarisation with the culture of the (parents') country of origin and involvement in activities reflecting that culture. They believe that it is only by becoming aware and proud of their cultural roots that migrants can develop and assert themselves culturally.

On the other hand, many of the meeting's participants, who were involved in socio-cultural schemes being carried out by and/or for migrants in the various receiving countries, had observed a desire - particularly among young people of immigrant origin - to experiment freely with various means of cultural expression and various forms of creativity without being channelled towards, and confined to, particular conceptions of the culture of their country of origin, which was often put across to them piecemeal and was, moreover, of very little relevance to their actual socio-cultural environment.

Although "first generation" migrants sometimes see the culture of their country of origin as a "refuge" or a means of asserting their cultural identity, young people often refuse to be confined to "specific", "separate" areas and types of cultural expression, which they see as likely to relegate them to a fringe existence, if not isolate them from the society and culture of the receiving country.

In some countries, however, young people of immigrant origin and young members of ethnic minorities have, in certain circumstances, been seen to proclaim and defend their "specificity" (eg on the occasion of the marches against racism in France by young people of North African origin). This assertion of the "right to be different" is taking place against a background of xenophobia and rising unemployment and is primarily a reflection of their fury at being rejected by the host society or isolated from the mainstream of society.

The discussions at the meeting on the ways in which migrants develop a cultural identity and the nature of that identity did not lead to any final, unanimously accepted conclusions.

This is hardly surprising, given that, in our Western societies, which are rapidly undergoing numerous changes, the development of a "cultural identity" by an individual or community does not stop with the acceptance of established cultural practices. Culture is a constantly changing process (1).

In any event, the key question now is this: How are European countries going to respond to the increasing aspirations of young people of immigrant origin to define themselves in relation to the cultures of the industrialised Western countries (if not as belonging to them) and become fully-fledged citizens of a Europe which recognises its multicultural character?

2. Forms of socio-cultural self-assertion

Nowadays we cannot talk of a "cultural" movement, in the true sense of the term - ie in the sense of a regular display of a homogeneous set of cultural aspirations and behaviour - among migrants or young people of immigrant origin, either at European level or within the individual European countries.

Many communities of migrants do not make their voices heard, and, within the various communities, women and girls often have few opportunities to make their cultural needs known. Moreover, even within the groups of young immigrants who organise themselves and proclaim their aspirations or their fury (the young people of North African origin in France and the West Indian minorities in England, for example), "there is still little organised joint action, and what there is is tenuous and dependent on the specific context" (2).

Although racist and xenophobic attitudes on the part of the indigenous population cause these young people to flare up with anger on occasion, the lack of prospects of integration and of an improvement in their social and occupational status often makes them resigned. They personally and permanently

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(1) M. Herdieckerhoff-Jencke, on the subject "Minderheiten und Kultur".

(2) A Jazouli, "Les jeunes maghrébins en France - De nouveaux acteurs sociaux?", Press et Immigrés en France - January 1986, p 5.

experience this ambivalence - this twofold attitude - which partly explains why they fluctuate between spectacular, large-scale mobilisation and periods of depression, retreat and withdrawal (1).

3. Ways and means of cultural self-assertion and development

During the meeting attention was drawn to several approaches presently being explored with a view to encouraging migrants to express and, ideally, satisfy their cultural needs. These approaches involve:

i. Increasing the number of contacts and strengthening co-operation between the various communities living together in the receiving countries by

- providing informal communication facilities,
- setting up "multi-ethnic" (amateur or professional) theatre troupes,
- holding competitions to develop less stereotyped, more accurate pictures of the various cultures coexisting within society;

ii. Fostering an awareness of the various cultures at school;

iii. Enabling migrants to assert themselves through the "professionalisation" of their forms of socio-cultural expression;

iv. Extending the opportunities for migrants to become genuinely involved in community life and cultural activities in the "host" society.

3.1 Contacts and communication between cultures - some experiences

i. The "coffee'house meeting place" scheme

A meeting place for German women and women of foreign, in particular Turkish, extraction was set up in a working-class district of Hamburg (Federal Republic of Germany) not only to counteract the loneliness, or even isolation, of these women but also, and more particularly, to give them an opportunity to alleviate (or better still, remove) prejudice and misunderstandings between the indigenous population and communities of foreign extraction living in the district (or in other districts of the city).

The women who meet there come to understand one another, mainly through discussions about the attitudes, customs and role of women in the various communities to which they belong.

The exchange of information also encompasses the history and culture of the regions and countries from which the women come. Shared leisure activities, such as language and music classes, complete the process and help the women to get to know one another better (2).

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(1) Ibid, p 6.

(2) C Mansfeld, Contribution to the meeting on "The culture of immigrant populations and cultural policies".

ii. Dramatics as a means of promoting intercultural understanding

The conclusion reached from an experiment (already referred to above) with "mixed" (Germano-Turkish) theatre troupes was that dramatics (whether amateur or not) are a good means of promoting the cultural development of young people of immigrant origin and improving understanding between communities from different cultures.

The schemes in question (carried out in the Federal Republic of Germany) were designed, in particular:

- to help the children of migrants to learn German;
- to help migrants to assert themselves culturally and even to acquire greater self-confidence;
- to increase mutual understanding and mutual respect among the various cultural groups that took part in the experiment.

Yet, it became apparent from the experiments that:

- Because the scheme was seen as a voluntary leisure pursuit, the young Germans and young people of foreign extraction took part only spasmodically in the preparations for the play and did not attend rehearsals regularly; as a result, it became doubtful whether regular performances could be given, and even whether the experiment could be termed a success.

- To avoid the risk of confining young migrants to a "separate" culture which they themselves do not fully understand, one must see that the plays put on by "multi-ethnic" troupes are relevant to the situation in which the young people actually find themselves (1).

In connection with the latter point, it is interesting to refer to another theatre experiment, carried out by CASI-UO in Belgium, which was also referred to at the meeting on "The culture of immigrant populations and cultural policies".

The play "Paysages intérieurs d'un voyage sans fin" is based on the "Odyssey" and portrays the migration epic. It enabled some 40 amateur actors of Moroccan, Spanish and Italian origin to (re)-experience not only the emigration voyage but also, and more particularly, the migrants' inner journey. In addition to portraying the voyage by the emigrants, who then become immigrants, the play sets out to show that "everyone is Ulysses". Using countless images, the play traces our history: the desire to succeed, the difficulty in coming to terms with unduly arduous labour, the struggles, the lack of communication, the recession, violence, identity problems, and so on" (2).

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(1) M Herdieckerhoff-Jencke, "Theaterspielen als Medium internationaler Verständigung", ibid.

(2) CASI-CEFA-UO, Paysages intérieurs d'un voyage sans fin (by Bruno Duccoli), Brussels, 1986, p 85.

The play aims to elicit and develop a "desire for genuine solidarity", for in our modern Western societies solidarity is no longer reflected in a political approach geared to community life. "Here it is life itself which is experienced and perceived as something immediately shared by everyone, like the air we breathe" (1).

iii. Competitions designed to improve understanding among the various cultures that coexist in society

It was also the belief that efforts to promote and give added status to cultures which differ from the official indigenous culture should be directed not only at immigrant communities but at the indigenous population as well that induced the "Centre socio-culturel des immigrés" (Social and Cultural Centre for Immigrants) in Brussels to organise various competitions. Literature and music competitions (for amateurs) were held to encourage everyone, particularly the indigenous population, to portray, by various artistic means, their conception of the various cultures around them and their attitudes towards them. These attitudes range from rejection and distrust to fascination and captivation and may go so far as to prompt the indigenous population to include elements from these "non-indigenous cultures" in their day-to-day cultural and artistic activities (2).

iv. Experiencing and understanding the various cultures at school

Although the discussion was not primarily concerned with action taken in the school education system (3) - since the intention was to concentrate on the cultural aspirations and activities of (young) migrants and cultural policies taken for their benefit - it was clearly acknowledged that schools were, and would continue to remain, an ideal place for improving understanding and acceptance of the world's various cultures, in particular those represented in the society in question.

A wider variety of more original means should be used at school to lay the foundations for communication between young people from different cultural backgrounds.

The "Sésame" experiment, which the person mainly responsible for launching it described at the meeting on "The culture of immigrant populations and cultural policies", is an interesting example.

At the instigation of various teachers, short (five- or six-week) series of artistic and cultural events were organised in several Paris schools. Professionals from the entertainment and arts world (writers, musicians, composers, painters and so on) were brought in to introduce the pupils to various forms of expression from a variety of cultures and help them to

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(1) Ibid, p 83.

(2) An example is the "Musiques sans frontières 1986" scheme organised by the "Centre socio-culturel des immigrés de Bruxelles", Brussels, 1986.

(3) The opportunities for promoting intercultural understanding at schools have already been explored through numerous case studies and at many meetings in the context of the project "The education and cultural development of migrants".

appreciate them. Using such forms of expression and communication as singing, drama, poetry and dancing, these professionals involved the pupils in a process of interaction and creativity based on elements from non-indigenous cultures.

The success of the 1981/82 scheme and the favourable reception it received from various institutions and authorities made it possible to repeat the scheme and extend it to 53 classes in a total of 10 schools in 1982/83 (1).

3.2 Professionalisation as a means of enabling migrants to assert themselves culturally and in society

In the main countries with immigrant populations in Europe, an increasing number of young people of immigrant origin and young members of ethnic minorities are successfully attempting to establish themselves as "professionals" in various fields of the arts. The main areas in which this immigrant community/ ethnic minority "élite" (who are often relatively well-educated and highly trained) seek to express themselves and be recognised as professionals are literature, the cinema, painting, music, journalism and sport.

Since they have an "individualistic" approach, migrants attempting to carve out a niche for themselves in these areas do not necessarily want to be seen as representing the community to which they belong. Indeed, since as has already been mentioned, there is neither an "immigrant" cultural movement nor even, in most cases, a clearly definable culture in each immigrant community or ethnic minority, any ambition to act as "spokesman" would be absurd. Yet, this does not prevent many of these (aspiring) "professionals" from living in the same areas (the suburbs or particular districts) as the community to which they belong, being concerned about the same issues and seeking to express the reality surrounding them in their profession.

3.3 Cultural development through genuine involvement in the community and in the cultural activities of the "host" society

The artistic professions, journalism, scientific research and community work in the arts sector are not just obvious areas in which a number of members of immigrant communities or ethnic minorities can assert themselves individually in cultural and professional terms; they also provide opportunities for dialogue with the local community. In so far as professionals of foreign extraction express their views and conception of the cultural, social and political situation in the "host" country, the indigenous population is called to account.

One person present at the meeting quoted, for example, the case of a play put on by black minority actors in the Netherlands. The play elicited distrust and even rejection on an unforeseen scale among the public. The most likely explanation seemed to be that, rather than reflecting the culture of the black ghetto, as many members of the audience had probably expected it to do, the play put across a picture of Dutch society.

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(1) Sésame, "Pour des pratiques interculturelles à l'école", Sésame, Paris, 1983.

Freedom of cultural expression for migrants is all the more of a challenge to the indigenous population when it does not simply show a different world (often in quaint or picturesque terms) but portrays an attitude towards the "host" society.

If genuine communication and understanding are to exist among the various cultural groups and communities, it would seem that migrants need to be involved more often, or better, as a matter of course, in activities in the various areas of society.

The Netherlands, Sweden and certain Swiss cantons have taken a major step in this direction by giving inhabitants of foreign extraction the right to vote in local elections.

II. Recent political and institutional responses to the challenge of the cultural development of migrants

In recent years the governments of the host countries have taken new steps to promote the cultural development of immigrant communities and help them to express themselves through culture. This bears witness to an awareness that the cultural aspirations and activities of these communities are diversifying and changing - an awareness which, it seems, is still only beginning to be reflected (and hesitatingly at that) in new cultural policies, in the true sense of the term. In some cases this more open-minded approach may yet be called into question.

1. Ambivalent cultural policies

1.1 Maintaining links with the cultures of migrants' countries of origin

A commitment to maintaining migrants' links with the culture of their country of origin is still reflected in government cultural policies.

i. According to bilateral agreements (between receiving countries and the migrants' countries of origin), migrants in the receiving countries must generally be given an opportunity to learn and speak the language of the country of origin, familiarise themselves with its culture and take part in activities based on that culture.

The "emigration countries" represented at the meeting all continue to stress the importance of this "acculturation" of their communities abroad. The receiving countries generally co-operate in organising and providing the facilities needed to disseminate the culture and language of the migrants' country of origin. One of the reasons why these "traditional" cultural co-operation arrangements still apply is that there is a determination (on the part of certain countries of origin and, in particular, certain receiving countries) to create conditions whereby migrants can be culturally reintegrated in their country of origin if they return.

It was, for instance, pointed out that, because of the socio-cultural reintegration problems faced by members of Greek communities returning to Greece from the United States, the Greek government is most concerned to make sure that Greeks living abroad in various parts of the world are not alienated from the culture of their country of origin (1).

ii. The authorities in the receiving countries feel they have a strong obligation to familiarise migrants with the language and culture of their country of origin, not only because of the prospect of their eventual return, but also in order not to deprive them of a potential source of individual and collective cultural development.

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(1) A Gottovos, contribution to the meeting on "The culture of immigrant populations and cultural policies", Strasbourg, 4 and 5 March 1986.

Sweden's educational and cultural policy aimed at immigrant communities, for instance, is based on the belief that use of the language of the country of origin and involvement in cultural activities originating there develop the individual's potential for learning, self-expression and creativity, which would otherwise have lain fallow.

Although many educational and cultural activities in Sweden are based on an intercultural approach and cater for both the immigrant communities and the indigenous population (whether they take place in several languages or in Swedish), the Swedish authorities provide migrants with considerable financial support (under the same conditions as Swedes) for artistic and other cultural projects in the language of their country of origin. Among other things, the Swedish government currently subsidises 70 newspapers in 25 different languages, which cater for the communities of foreign extraction in Sweden (1).

iii. Lastly, the maintenance of ties with the language and culture of the country of origin is particularly important for communities of migrants whose culture is largely, if not completely, excluded from that officially disseminated abroad by the authorities of the countries from which they emigrated.

Governments in the receiving countries acknowledge the need to give particular support to these communities' languages and cultures. (Refugees, who are often completely cut off from the official culture of the country they have left, are also among the target groups for these priority assistance measures).

The idea that there is more to the cultural activities of migrants or ethnic minorities than giving expression to "foreign cultures" seem to be gaining ground among political decision-makers and administrative authorities in the receiving countries, even though it has not (yet) led to a new approach to cultural policy everywhere.

The new awareness of the complex development and changing nature of the culture of immigrant populations is reflected in a fair number of measures recently taken in the various receiving countries:

1.2 Action to promote the development of migrants' socio-cultural activities

i. Special schemes for providing funds and premises enabling migrants and ethnic minorities to develop their forms of cultural expression freely are one of the responses to the cultural aspirations of these communities.

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(1) U Ebbeson, contribution to the meeting on "The culture of immigrant populations and cultural policies", Strasbourg, 4 and 5 March 1986.

Berlin's action in this area is exemplary: it supports the cultural activities of its immigrant communities to the tune of about 1 million DM a year.

ii. These "special" schemes are, however, being increasingly criticised on the grounds that they are liable to encourage the formation of cultural ghettos.

The governments of the various receiving countries are now tending to promote the cultural development of migrants largely, though not exclusively, through general programmes of cultural and leisure activities, eg programmes for young people, irrespective of ethnic background.

In addition to Sweden, which, as has already been pointed out, has a multicultural social and cultural policy, one may refer to a scheme entitled "Loisirs quotidiens pour les jeunes" ("Everyday leisure activities for young people") carried out in France (until March 1986) under the aegis of the former Minister for Youth and Sport. The scheme catered for all young people aged 11 to 18 who did not use the ordinary leisure facilities. Migrants' children accounted for a substantial proportion of this "disadvantaged" target population. The subsidies awarded under the scheme were not confined to any specific type of socio-cultural activity; the aim was to prevent these young people from withdrawing into their communities and give them the means to organise themselves and operate independently (1).

Netherlands' government policy towards ethnic minorities (since 1983) bears witness to the fact that "Netherlands' society has become multicultural, with far-reaching consequences in many areas" (2).

It is, therefore, considered to be important that cultural and welfare policy "should cater for society as a whole" and that "minorities should have access to the social, cultural and leisure facilities and institutions, which were set up for a largely indigenous population" (3).

The Netherlands government aims to give young members of ethnic minorities the "means of improving their situation themselves" and the opportunity to become emancipated within their own communities (4).

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(1) French Ministry of Youth and Sport, Youth Directorate: "Actions en direction des jeunes issus de l'immigration", working paper, Paris, 1985.

(2) Ministry of Welfare, Health and Culture: Policy towards minorities, Rijswijk, March 1986.

(3) Ibid, p. 7

(4) Ibid, p. 13

The action taken by the authorities responsible for the French-speaking community in Belgium (1) seems to reflect a similar approach: that of "encouraging integration based on an intercultural approach and giving expression to the infinite variety of identities" (2). It was in this spirit that the French community's Advisory Council for Immigrants (CCICF) prompted the authorities to take steps to promote the social advancement and cultural development of migrants. Admittedly, the CCICF recognises that there is "a very wide range of attitudes in immigrant circles towards decisions concerning their future" and that "the geographical proximity of the countries of origin means that immigrants are constantly faced, or at least imagine they are faced, with the question of return; indeed, a large number of immigrants can go there and back" (3). At the same time, however, the CCICF encourages the authorities to take account of the burgeoning culture specific to immigrant communities, especially the new generations. It is a culture which reflects their own chequered history - it bears "the hallmarks of the popular culture of the country of origin and the itinerary followed by the parents when they emigrated and may reflect appreciation or rejection of the society in which they are living" (4).

This is the approach that has, for instance, lain behind the cultural policy of the French Cultural Commission for the Brussels area since 1981. The Commission has, in particular, conducted a survey on "Immigrant culture" and publicised the findings, developed teaching aids and audiovisual materials and carried out various other activities specifically connected with the situation of immigrants (5).

1.3 Support for professionals of foreign extraction in the arts

The increasing receptiveness of the authorities in the receiving countries to new means of promoting the cultural development of migrants and ethnic minorities, in addition to well-established cultural co-operation with the countries of origin, is also reflected in the growing attention and support they are giving to (aspiring) professionals from these communities in the arts world, especially artists themselves.

- For instance, the Belgian Minister for the French Community has sought in his policy for the integration of immigrants, to pay special attention to "up-and-coming professionals of immigrant origin (social workers, people with educational responsibilities, people working with the media, creative artists, and so on)" (6).

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(1) As the Dutch-speaking community in Belgium was not represented at the meeting, the action taken by its authorities cannot be included.

(2) "Initiatives des pouvoirs publics en matière d'intégration des immigrés dans la Communauté française" Ministry for the French Community, Brussels, October 1985, p. 4.

(3) Ibid, p. 5

(4) Ibid, p. 5

(5) Ibid, p. 14

(6) Ibid, p. 5

Similarly, the Netherlands Minister for Welfare, Health and Culture has proclaimed his determination to "see about the training of professionals from cultural minorities" (1).

In Sweden a widespread system of scholarships for journalists and artists of foreign extraction has been in operation for many years (2).

- Although, because of the federal, political and administrative structure of the Federal Republic of Germany, there is no national cultural policy in the strict sense of the term or centralisation of policy towards migrants, the federal official responsible for migrant affairs has recently taken a number of steps similar in approach to those mentioned above.

A colloquy on the theme "Migrants and the media" is to be held not only to take stock of the way in which migrant communities in the Federal Republic of Germany are portrayed by the media but also to consider what contributions professionals from these communities can make in the future to the work of the media.

The purpose of the travelling exhibition "Federal German Workshop - Migration", organised by the same federal government office is even more explicit: to make the work of professional artists of foreign extraction living in the Federal Republic of Germany known and appreciated. The exhibition of their work, which is being held under the slogan "Internationalisation - Exile - Emigration", is accompanied bv fringe events of various kinds (literature, music, theatre, etc); these events, which differ according to the town in which the exhibition is being held, put the selected works into their respective contexts.

Lastly, the Arts Council, which, although an independent institution, is the main body through which the United Kingdom Government promotes the arts, launched an action plan in 1986, primarily to foster appreciation for the work of ethnic minority artists and improve their professional status through the efforts of, and within, the various cultural institutions.

At least 4% of the Arts Council's total budget for 86/87 will be earmarked for this plan. The institutions concerned (cultural foundations, orchestras, theatres, etc) are to be encouraged to employ, and promote the work of, artists and other arts world professionals who are members of the African, West Indian and Asian minorities, and to wage campaigns to arouse public interest in their work.

The Arts Council itself will take similar steps to promote the employment and training of artists from these minorities (3).

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(1) Ministry of Welfare, Health and Culture, "Policy towards minorities".

(2) U Ebbesen, op. cit.

(3) Arts Council: "The Arts and Ethnic Minorities", working paper, February 1986.

Because of the large number of requirements that have to be met - maintenance of migrants' links with the culture of their country of origin, provision of facilities that enable them to carry out their cultural activities freely and provision for the cultural development of migrants within the framework of the country's general cultural policy - government action still reflects an ambivalent attitude.

This ambivalence is also apparent in the institutional machinery used to implement cultural measures catering for migrants and ethnic minorities in the various receiving countries.

2. What institutions should be used to promote the cultural development of migrants?

It was not possible, at the meeting, to carry out a comprehensive review of the institutions backing up government action to promote the cultural development of migrants. It did, however, emerge that there were a number of standard set-ups and that various trends existed.

In most of the receiving countries, the Ministry of Labour and/or of Social Welfare on the one hand and the Ministry of Culture and/or of Education on the other have been, and, in some cases, still are, largely responsible for centralised government action for the benefit of migrants.

Measures to promote the socio-cultural integration of migrants tend, however, to come under the aegis of "super-ministries" (the Ministry of National Solidarity under the previous government in France, the Ministry for the French Community in Belgium, the Ministry of Welfare, Health and Culture in the Netherlands) or of interministerial bodies set up for the purpose (eg. the Commission of the Federal Government for the integration of Foreign Workers and their families).

An original situation exists in Sweden, where policy for the promotion of the cultural development of immigrants is the joint responsibility of two bodies: the National Immigration Office and the National Council for Cultural Co-operation.

Although many projects, and even wide-ranging action programmes, for the promotion of the socio-cultural development of migrants are initiated and managed centrally, local and regional public, private or semi-public institutions are closely involved in the management, monitoring and even the development and financing of cultural schemes for these sections of the population. This is also true, albeit to a lesser extent, in countries which are not highly de-centralised.

- The churches, trade unions and private foundations have a particularly important role in the Federal Republic of Germany and the Netherlands, where "the implementation of welfare policy is largely entrusted to private initiative" (1).

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(1) Ministry of Welfare, Health and Culture - "Policy towards minorities", ibid, p 6.

- There are an increasing number of organisations and other bodies run jointly by associations and the authorities in all Western European countries with immigrant communities. An example of a semi-public body of this kind is the "Centre socio-culturel des Immigrés" (Social and Cultural Centre for Immigrants) in Brussels, which was set up in 1980 and organises a wide variety of activities.

- Municipalities have a key role in devising and implementing cultural policies benefiting migrants and ethnic minorities.

Even in France, a country with a well-established tradition of centralisation, a substantial proportion of public-sector cultural measures benefiting immigrant communities has been devised, suggested and implemented by local authorities, especially under agreements ("contrats d'agglomération") between central government and local authorities.

3. The response of the countries of origin to the fast-changing cultural activities and aspirations of their communities abroad

It would appear from comments by the participants of the meeting who came from countries with an emigration tradition that the authorities of those countries have been responsive to the changing nature and specific features of the cultural aspirations and activities of their communities abroad, especially those of "second-generation" migrants. Admittedly, the governments of such countries as Portugal and Greece continue to insist on the creation of conditions that encourage these communities to identify strongly with the culture of their countries of origin. Their cultural policies where these communities are concerned centre on measures connected with the teaching of the language(s) and culture(s) of the country of origin, in the form of training, information and career advancement measures for teachers sent to the receiving country to teach migrants (as part of that country's ordinary school curriculum or, more often, outside it).

The cultural measures (in the strict sense of the term) generally include setting up libraries, preparation and dissemination of audio-visual materials for these communities as well as the organisation of training courses during which migrants can visit their country of origin. These courses cater, in particular, for artists and other professionals from the arts world who originate from these countries but have settled abroad (1).

These countries nevertheless recognise that it is important to take account, in their cultural policies, of the new influences to which their communities are exposed abroad. For instance, the Portuguese Government is most concerned to ensure that, when teachers who are to be sent abroad are trained, the approach to the teaching of the Portuguese culture and language abroad is adapted to take account of these new influences.

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(1) T Quintela - Contribution to the meeting: "La culture des migrants et les politiques éducatives" Strasbourg, 4 and 5 March 1986.

Reference was made to comparable trends in Greek educational and cultural policy towards Greek communities abroad.

Not only have further efforts been made to develop teaching aids suitable for the children of Greek families abroad; there are also new developments in cultural policy towards communities abroad. An example is the recent government scheme to involve artists and intellectuals from Greece in the cultural activities of Greek communities abroad in order to foster interaction between the various cultures which serve as references for these communities.

In particular, it is hoped that this scheme will give young second- and third-generation Greeks greater independence in their creative artistic and cultural activities (1).

Recent cultural policies in Italy and Spain reflect an even more receptive attitude to the changing nature of the cultural development of their nationals abroad.

An effort is now being made to co-operate more closely with the receiving countries with a view to offering migrants cultural activities that take account of their particular situation and socio-cultural environment.

To this end, the cultural institutes in the countries mentioned have recently stepped up the number of cultural events aimed not only at their communities abroad but also at the entire population in the countries in which these communities live. Moreover, these events are designed to portray Spanish and Italian culture in a modern light.

In response to the development of multicultural societies and the rejection of cultural segregation, particularly among second-generation immigrants, the countries in which there is an emigration tradition seem to be opting increasingly for a cultural policy which, in addition to taking account of the particular socio-cultural situation of their communities abroad, aims to provide not only their emigrants but also the other sections of the population in the receiving countries with a heterogenous, dynamic picture of the culture of the country of origin.

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(1) A Gottovos, op. cit.

CONCLUSION

The authorities responsible in the receiving countries, and also those in the countries of origin, for policies relating to migrant communities, are now faced with a major challenge: the demand (as yet latent in the case of most migrants and members of ethnic minorities) for facilities affording freedom of expression and for recognition as equal partners in the community and cultural life of the host society. These demands are reflected in individual action and in ad hoc collective campaigns.

Although the maintenance of migrants' ties with the language(s) and culture(s) of their countries of origin is still one of the main objectives of policies relating to migrants in Europe, it is now apparent that the authorities in the receiving countries and in the countries of origin are beginning to respond to the changing nature and specific features of the cultural standards, aspirations and activities of immigrant communities and to the call for new answers to the challenge of their cultural development. This commitment needs to be strengthened, translated into practice and consolidated so that there is automatic provision for the growing cultural diversity of our societies in Europe's cultural policies.

Appendix I

Draft Agenda

Tuesday 4 March 1986	Introductory session
9.30 - 11.00	- Opening of the meeting by a representative of the Directorate of Education, Culture and Sport
	- Presentation of the theme and the objectives of the meeting by Mr. A. PEROTTI, Director of the «Centre d'Information et d'Etudes sur les Migrations Internationales», Paris
	- Presentation by Mr. VIDEAU, Mission for Intercultural Exchanges, Paris
11.00 - 11.30	- Coffee break
11.30 - 12.30	- Discussion
12.30 - 14.30	- Lunch
14.30 - 16.00	- The emergence of new cultures of young migrants, their ways and places of expression
	- Discussion
16.00 - 16.30	- Tea break
16.30 - 18.00	- Discussion (cont.)
Wednesday 5 March 1986	
9.30 - 11.00	- The action of public authorities for the cultural development of migrants
	. Presentation of public policies in different European countries
	. Discussion
11.00 - 11.30	- Coffee break
11.30 - 12.30	- Discussion (cont.)
12.30 - 14.30	- Lunch

14.30 - 16.00	- Favourite ways and means of supporting (anticipating, encouraging and following) the cultural expression of young migrants (The respective roles of public bodies, institutions, and associations, etc) - Discussion
16.00 - 16.30	- Tea break
16.30 - 18.00	- Conclusions

Annexe II
Appendix II

Liste des participants
List of participants

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SECRETARIAT :

Division de l'enseignement scolaire/School Education Division :

M. Jean RATY , Chef de division / Head of the division

Mme Maura ROLANDI RICCI, Administrateur/Administrator

Mme Gabriela GÖTTELMANN, Administrateur/Administrator

Mme Yvette DONAZZOLO, Secrétaire/Secretary

Mme Janet SELLERS, Secrétaire/Secretary

A P P E N D I X III

List of bodies/individuals responsible for the cultural schemes mentioned in the report

- The "Sésame" scheme (Intercultural activities at school), Paris 20e)

  Association Sésame du 20e arrondissement
  6 rue Levert
  F - 75020 PARIS

- "Intercultural, multi-ethnic programme" (Comparison of cultures and cultural exchanges, especially with communities of stateless people (Kurds, Armenians, gypsies, Berbers, etc)

  and "Young second-generation immigrants"

  Fonds d'Intervention Culturelle
  4 rue d'Aboukir
  F - 75002 PARIS

- Schemes to promote creativity among young artists in various districts and suburbs of France:

  Mission pour les échanges interculturels
  2 rue Jean Lantier
  F - 75001 PARIS

- "Everyday leisure activities for young people" (Programme of events to promote the socio-cultural integration of disadvantaged young people)

  Ministère de la Jeunesse et des Sports
  Direction de la Jeunesse
  78 rue Olivier-de-Serres
  F - 75739 PARIS CEDEX 15

- "Community cultures" scheme (Conservation of the heritage, transmission and dissemination of minority cultures and professional training in the arts for young members of ethnic minorities)

  Ministère de la Culture
  Direction du développement culturel
  2 rue Lantier
  F - 75001 PARIS

- "Paysages intérieurs d'un voyage sans fin" (Play based on the migration "Odyssey", portraying the hopes and fears of the human species) and "Musiques sans Frontières" (Competition in popular music from all countries, open to amateur musicians of all nationalities)

  Centre socio-culturel des Immigrés de Bruxelles
  Avenue de Stalingrad 24
  B - 1000 BRUXELLES

- Training, information and measures to promote the cultural development and integration of immigrant communities in French-speaking Belgium

  Ministère de la Communauté Française
  Direction générale de la culture
  Galerie Ravenstein 78
  B - 1000 BRUXELLES

- The "Arts and Ethnic Minorities" programme of the Arts Council (Employment of artists from the Asian, West Indian and African minorities and promotion of their work)

  Arts Council
  105 Picadilly
  GB - LONDON W1 OAU

- Schemes to promote the socio-cultural integration of communities of foreign extraction by the Federal Republic of Germany, including the colloquy "Migrants and the Media" and the art exhibition "Federal German Workshop: Internationalism, Exile and Emigration"

  Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Ausländerfragen
  Lengsdorfer Haupstrasse 72-80
  D - 5300 BONN-LENGSDORF

- Multi-ethnic theatre troupe dramatics

  Mrs Jencke-Herdieckerhoff
  Mettfelderstrasse 9
  D - 5000 KÖLN 50

- The "Coffee-house meeting place" scheme in Hamburg

  Mrs Mansfeld
  Wohlsdorf 17
  D - 2138 WOHLSDORF

- Schemes to promote the social advancement and cultural development of ethnic minorities in the Netherlands

  Ministry of Welfare, Health and Culture
  Steenvoordelaan 370
  NL - 2282 EH RIJSWIJK (ZH)

- Promotion of the social advancement and cultural development of immigrant communities in Sweden

  Swedish National Immigration Board
  P O Box 6113
  S - 600.06 NORRKOEPING